# Employee Post-Travel Disclosure of Travel Expenses

" Date/Time Stamp:

Post-Travel Filing Instructions: Complete	this form within 30 days of returning from
travel Submit all forms to the Office of Pub	

travel. Submit all form	is to the Office of Pub	olic Records in 232 Har	t Building.	17 NOV 28 建M 12: 03
In compliance with Rube reimbursed/paid for	ile 35.2(a) and (c), I m r me. I also certify that	t I have attached:	sures with respect to t	travel expenses that have been or wil
☐ The <u>original</u> Emplo ☐ A <u>copy</u> of the Priva	ite Sponsor Travel Cei	rization (Form RE-1), A rtification Form with all se, Socrates Program	attachments (itinerary	y, invitee list, etc.) 豈
Private Sponsor(s) (list	t all):			<u> </u>
Octob Travel date(s):	er 27 - 29 , ຂວາ ຯ		·	
Name of accompanying Relationship to Travelo			<u> </u>	<u> </u>
IF THE COST OF LODG INCLUDE LODGING C Expenses for Employ	COSTS IN EMPLOYEE	EASE DUE TO THE ACC EXPENSES. (Attach addit	COMPANYING SPOUS	SE OR DEPENDENT CHILD, ONLY
Dapenses for isnipio,	Transportation Expenses	Lodging Expenses	Meal Expenses	Other Expenses (Amount & Description)
☑ Good Faith Estimate	00	\$234	\$172.50	\$183.44
☐ Actual Amount				
Expenses for Accomp	panying Spouse or De	ependent Child (if applic	cable):	
	Transportation Expenses	<del></del>	Meal Expenses	Other Expenses (Amount & Description)
☐ Good Faith Estimate		t		
Actual Amount		•		
				Attach additional pages if Friday October 27th.
11-1-17 (Date)	(Printed	dame of traveler)	Elizad	Signature of traveler)
TO BE COMPLETE	D BY SUPERVISING	G MEMBER/OFFICER:		
I have made a determi	ination that the expens		ections with travel de	scribed in the <i>Employee Pre-Travel</i> I in Rule 35.

(Signature of Supervising Senator/Officer)

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# EMPLOYEE PRE-TRAVEL AUTHORIZATION

Pre-Travel Filing Instructions: Complete and submit this form at least 30 days prior to the travel departure date to the Select Committee on Ethics in SH-220. Incomplete and late travel submissions will <u>not</u> be considered or approved. This form <u>must</u> be typed and is available as a fillable PDF on the Committee's website at ethics.senate.gov. Retain a copy of your entire pre-travel submission for your required post-travel disclosure.

Ntara a 6 Tuara law	Elizabeth Falcone
Name of Traveler:	Sen. Mark Warner
Employing Office/Committee:	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
The Aspen Insittue (So Private Sponsor(s) (list all):	ocrates Program)
October 27- 29 Travel date(s):  Note: If you plan to extend the trip for any reas	son you must notify the Committee.
Queenstown, MD Destination(s):	·
Explain how this trip is specifically connected to the tra	aveler's official or representational duties:
As Legislative Director, it is important to continue to expanding bipartisan eviornment continue to expanding the continue to expand bipartisan eviornment continue to expanding the continue to expandi	d my knowledge of Congress, build my leadership skills, and explore in a elp facilitate that, especially as it relates to ssues on political civility and
Name of accompanying family member (if any): Relationship to Employee: Spouse Child	•
I certify that the information contained in this form is t	true, complete and correct to the best of my knowledge:
1 / 2 C   1 (Date)	(Stybulare of Employee)
related expenses for travel to the event described abov	yment or reimbursement for necessary transportation, lodging, and e. I have determined that this travel is in connection with his or her ill not create the appearance that he or she is using public office for
of the Senate, (signify "yes" by checking box)	oyee's spouse or child is appropriate to assist in the representation
(Date)	(Signature of Supervising Senator/Officer)
(Rev. sed 10/19/15)	Form RE-1

#### PRIVATE SPONSOR TRAVEL CERTIFICATION FORM

This form must be completed by any private entity offering to provide travel or reimbursement for travel to Senate Members, officers, or employees (Senate Rule 35, clause 2). Each sponsor of a fact-finding trip must sign the completed form. The trip sponsor(s) must provide a copy of the completed form to each invited Senate traveler, who will then forward it to the Ethics Committee with any other required materials. The trip sponsor(s) should NOT submit the form directly to the Ethics Committee. Please consult the accompanying instructions for more detailed definitions and other key information.

The Senate Member, officer, or employee MUST also provide a copy of this form, along with the appropriate travel authorization and reimbursement form, to the Office of Public Records (OPR), Room 232 of the Hart Building, within thirty (30) days after the travel is completed.

١.	The Aspen Institute (Socrates Program) Sponsor(s) of the trip (please list all sponsors):
2.	Description of the trip: The Aspen Institute (Socrates Program) is sponsoring a Socrates seminar for senior congressional staff to discuss political civility and the role of Congress.
3.	Dates of travel: October 27-29
4.	Place of travel: Queenstown, MD
5.	Name and title of Schate invitees: Please see attached roster
6.	Certify that the trip fits one of the following categories:  (A) The sponsor(s) are not registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal and do not retain or employ registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal will accompany the Member, officer, or employee at any point throughout the trip.  - OR -
	(B) The sponsor or sponsors are not registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal, but retain or employ one or more registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal and the trip meets the requirements of Senate Rule 35.2(a)(2)(A)(i) or (ii) (see question 9).
7.	I certify that the trip will not be financed in any part by a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal.
	– AND
	I certify that the sponsor or sponsors will not accept funds or in-kind contributions earmarked directly or indirectly for the purpose of financing this specific trip from a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal or from a private entity that retains or employs one or more registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal.
8.	J <i>certify</i> that:
	The trip will not in any part be planned, organized, requested, or arranged by a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal except for de minimis lobbyist involvement.  - AND -
	The traveler will not be accompanied on the trip by a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal except as provided for by Committee regulations relating to lobbyist accompaniment (see question 9).

9.	USE ONLY IF YOU CHECKED QUESTION 6(B)  I certify that if the sponsor or sponsors retain or employ one or more registered lobby ists or agents of a foreign principal, one of the following scenarios applies:
	<ul> <li>(A) The trip is for attendance or participation in a one-day eyent (exclusive of travel time and one overnight stay) and no registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal will accompany the Member officer, or employee on any segment of the trip.</li> <li>OR -</li> </ul>
	(B) The trip is for attendance or participation in a one-day event (exclusive of travel time and two overnight stays) and no registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal will accompany the Member, officer, or employee on any segment of the trip (see questions 6 and 10).  - OR -
	(C) The trip is being sponsored only by an organization or organizations designated under § 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 and no registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal will accompany the Member, officer, or employee at any point throughout the trip.
10.	USE ONLY IF YOU CHECKED QUESTION 9(B)  If the trip includes two overnight stays, please explain why the second night is practically required for Senate invitees to participate in the travel:
H.	An itinerary for the trip is attached to this form. I certify that the attached itinerary is a detailed (hourby-hour), complete, and final itinerary for the trip.
12.	Briefly describe the role of each sponsor in organizing and conducting the trip:
	The Aspen Institute's Socrates Program is the sole sponsor of this seminar and is solely responsible
	for the development and execution of this convening. (see continued response)
13.	Briefly describe the stated mission of each sponsor and how the purpose of the trip relates to that mission:
	The Aspen Institute is an educational and policy studies non-partisan non-profit organization whose
	mission is to foster leadership based on enduring values and provide a non-partisan forum for the
	exchange of ideas. (see continued response)
14.	Briefly describe each sponsor's prior history of sponsoring congressional trips:
	The Aspen Institute has a nearly forty year history of conducting non-partisan educational forums, which
	often include Members of Congress and Congressional staff. The Socrates Program has been conducting
	seminars Senate Socrates for eight years.

ioruma, and cometen	ces for a diverse range	of attendees including	federal and state	policymakers.
		<del></del>		<u> </u>
business and organiz	ation leaders, members	or the press and the	general public. (5	ee continued respon
Total Expenses for Ea	ich Participant:			
	Transportation	Lodging	Meal	Other
· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	Expenses	Expenses	Expenses	Expenses
Good Faith estimate  Actual	\$63.45 for mileage	\$234.00 for two nights	\$172.50	\$183.44 conference room fees (includes meeting facilities set up/take down cleaning), reading copyrigh
Amounts				and moderator t
their leadership and p	rofessional developmer	- nt		<u> </u>
•	he location of the event	or trip		
Reason for selecting t			anatan trassal	
_	to Washingtonn, DC for	easy staffer and mod	erator traves.	
_	to Washingtonn, DC for	easy staffer and mode	erator traves.	
The location is close	hotel or other lodging f	•	erator traves.	
The location is close to the location of the l		acility:		
Name and location of Wye River Conference	hotel or other lodging f	acility: rive, Queenstown, MD		

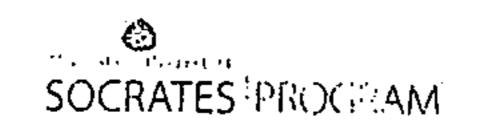
21.	Describe how the daily expenses for lodging, meals, and other expenses provided to trip participants compares to the maximum per diem rates for official Federal Government travel:			
	Rooms are \$117/day, which reflects the per diem limit.			
	Meals are \$69.00/day, which reflects the per diem limit.			
22.	Describe the type and class of transportation being provided. Indicate whether coach, business-class or first class transportation will be provided. If first-class fare is being provided, please explain why first-class travel is necessary:			
	Transportation is not provided; mileage will be reimbursed for participants' travel by personal car			
23.	I represent that the travel expenses that will be paid for or reimbursed to Senate invitees do not include expenditures for recreational activities, alcohol, or entertainment (other than entertainment provided to all attendees as an integral part of the event, as permissible under Senate Rule 35).			
24.	List any entertainment that will be provided to, paid for, or reimbursed to Senate invitees and explain why the entertainment is an integral part of the event:			
	None			
25.	I hereby certific that the information contained herein is true, complete and correct. (You must include the completed signature block below for each travel sponsor.):  Signature of Travel Sponsor:  Midflew			
	Name and Title: Elliot Gerson, Excuitve Vice President, Policy & Public Programs			
	Name of Organization: The Aspen Institute			
	Address: 1 Dupont Circle NW, Suite 700, Washington, DC 20036			
	Telephone Number: 202-736-5859			
	Fax Number:			
	E-mail Address:			

Appendix to Private Sponsor Travel Certification Form, Aspen Institute Socrates Program for Senate Socrates, October 27-29, 2017

Question 12. Briefly describe the role of each sponsor in organizing and conducting the trip (response continued) – The Aspen Institute received general funding from the Rodel Foundations to support the Socrates Program. The funding was not earmarked for this trip. The Rodel Foundations did not play a role in organizing or planning the conference, including, but not limited to the content, agenda, moderators, attendees or other logistics.

Questions 13. Briefly describe the stated mission of each sponsor and how the purpose of the trip relates to the mission (response continued) – The Socrates Program seeks to provide a forum for emerging leaders from various professions to convene and explore contemporary issues through expert-moderated dialogue. The purpose of the trip is to conduct a non-partisan educational seminar on political civility and the role of Congress that encourages off-the-record, candid exchanges of ideas to support staffers' learning and development.

Question 15. Briefly describe the educational activities performed by each sponsor (other than sponsoring congressional trips) (response continued) – The Socrates Program convenes 18 expertly moderate eminars or bringing together a diverse group of professionals to explore discuss current topics and encourage dialogue and exchang of



#### #5. Name and titles of Senate invitees:

Christian Brose
Staff Director
Committee on Armed Services

Mike Casey
Minority Staff Director
Select Committee on Intelligence

Jeyben Castro
Outreach Director
Republican Task Force on Hispanic Affairs

Jennifer Decasper
Chief of Staff
Office of Senator Tim Scott

Elizabeth Falcone Legislative Director Office of Senator Mark Warner

Laura Erickson Hatalsky
Legislative Director
Office of Senator Catherine Cortez Masto

Thomas Mancinelli
Foreign Policy Advisor
Office of Senator Chris Coons

Olivia Perez-Cubas Press Secretary Office of Senator Marco Rubio

Monica Popp Chief of Staff Office of Senate Republican Whip John Cornyn

Nicole Porreca Senior Foreign Policy Advisor Office of Senator Tim Kaine

Hallie Soifer Legislative Assistant Office of Senator Kamala Harris

Dana Strout
Professional Staff Member
Committee on Foreign Relations

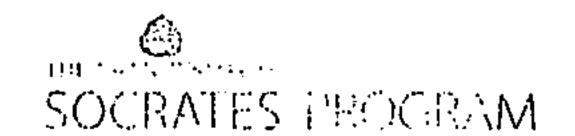
Bill Sweeney
Staff Director
Democratic Policy and Communications
Committee

Natalia Riggin Legislative Assistant Office of Senator Mike Enzi

Erica Suares
Policy Advisor
Office of Majority Leader, Senator Mitch
McConnell

Matthew Williams
Legislative Assistant
Office of Senator Bill Nelson

Brandon Yoder Senior Professional Staff Member Committee on Foreign Relations



#### 2017 Senate Socrates

Political Civility and the Role of Congress

Moderators: Dan Glickman and Bill Hoagland

#### Seminar Weekend Schedule

October 27-29, 2017
Aspen Institute Wye River Campus
600 Aspen Drive
Queenstown, Maryland

Seminar Location: River House (RH)

### Friday, October 27

7:00 p.m. - 8:00 p.m.

Senate Socrates Check In & Registration

River House

+8:00 p.m. - 9:30 p.m.

Senate Socrates Opening Dinner

"Political Civility and Working in Washington"

A conversation with Dan Glickman, Aspen Institute

Congressional Program Executive Director, and Bill Hoagland,

Bipartisan Policy Center Senior Vice President

Moderated by Elliot Gerson, Aspen Institute Executive Vice

President

River House Dining Room

# Saturday, October 28

7:45 a.m. – 9:00 a.m.

Breakfast

River House Dining Room

9:00 a.m. – 12:00 p.m.

Seminar Session I: Foundations in Discourse, Teamwork and

Civility

Seminar discussion based on the following texts:

"Classical Rhetoric, Contemporary Science and Modern Civil Discourse," Research Brief No. 4, National Institute for Civil-

Discourse

Dave Winsborough and Tomas Chamorro-Premuzic, "Great Teams are About Personalities, Not Just Skills," Harvard Business

Review, January 25, 2017

Page 1 of 4

Alex Pentland, "The New Science of Building Great Teams," Harvard Business Review, April 2012
Hua Hsu, "The Civility Wars," The New Yorker, 2014
P.M. Forni, "What is Civility?" Choosing Civility, 2003, pp. 7-12
Tod Lindberg, "The Politics of Incivility," Commentary Magazine, September 1, 2012

10:30 a.m. - 10:45 a.m.

Morning Break

River House Break Room

12:00 p.m. – 1:00 p.m.

Lunch

River House Dining Room

1787

1:00 p.m. – 4:00 p.m.

Seminar Session II: A Brief History of American "Civil" Discourse Seminar discussion based on the following texts:

Derek A. Webb, "The Original Meaning of Civility:
Democratic Deliberation at the Philadelphia Constitutional
Convention," Introduction & Conclusion, South Carolina Law
Review, Vol. 64, 2012, pp. 184-191 & 218-219
James Madison, "Federalist No. 10: The Union as a Safeguard
Against Domestic Faction and Insurrection," New York Packet,

Benjamin Franklin, "Final Speech in the Constitutional Convention from the Notes of James Madison," 1787 Ron Chernow, "The Feuding Fathers," *The Wall Street Journal*, June 26, 2010

David M. Abshire, The Grace and Power of Civility: Commitment and Tolerance in the American Experience, Center for the Study of the Presidency, November 2004, pp. 1-5

"Representative Roger Griswold of Connecticut Attacked Matthew Lyon of Vermont on the House Floor," Historical Highlights, U.S. House of Representatives History, Art & Archives

"The Caning of Senator Charles Sumner," Senate Stories, U.S. Senate Art & History

Martin Luther King, "Letter from Birmingham Jail," 1963 Richard Hofstadter, "The Paranoid Style in American Politics," *Harper's Magazine*, November 1964 Sarah Heil, "Mark Twain on Congress: Idiots, Criminals, Dumber than Fleas," *The Washington Post*, April 18, 2012 Joanna Piacenza, "Report: Is Civility Possible?," Public Religion Research Institute, October 22, 2014

Michael Gerson, "America is Hacking Away at Its Own Democratic Limb," *The Washington Post*, June 29, 2017 Jack Leslie, "What Three Nobel Laureates Can Teach Us About Civility in America," *The Huffington Post*, August 7, 2017

2:30 p.m. - 2:45 p.m.

Afternoon Break

River House Break Room

4:30 p.m. - 6:30 p.m.

Historical Walking Tour of Wye

The Wye campus is a site imbued with historical moments in American political discourse and policy decisions – from early days as the home of William Paca, a signer of the Declaration of Independence and the third governor of Maryland, to more recent moments as the site for negotiations between Israel and the Palestine Authority resulting in the Wye River Memorandum. This historical tour will connect the history and discussions of the seminar to place and embody the rich history of American discourse and governing in Washington and beyond.

Wye Campus

7:30 p.m. – 9:30 p.m.

Dinner and Evening Program

"The Future of Politics: Well-Informed, Biparitisan Commitment to Build the 'Good Society'"

A conversation with Bill Budinger, founder of Rodel, Inc., and Mickey Edwards, former U.S. Congressman Moderated by Cordell Carter, Socrates Program Director River House Dining Room

# Sunday, October 29

7:45 a.m. - 9:00 a.m.

Breakfast

River House Dining Room

9:00 a.m. - 12:00 p.m.

Seminar Session III: Political Civility in the Age of Social Media Seminar discussion based on the following texts:

- Amy Gutmann, "Key Note Address Can We Talk? A Conversation about Civility and Democracy in America," University of Pennsylvania Office of the President, March 26, 2011
- Alan Greenblatt, "The Public Respects Civility, But Rewards Rudeness," NPR, January 26, 2012
- Jonathan Rauch, "Rescuing Compromise," National Affairs, 2013

- Laura Santhañam, "New Poll: 70% of Americans Think Civility has Gotten Worse Since Trump Took Office," PBS NewsHour, July 3, 2017
- Maeve Duggan, "How Platforms Are Poisoning Conversations," The Atlantic, May 11, 2017
- Lee Drutman, "We Need Political Parties. But Their Rabid Partisanship Could Destroy American Democracy.," Vox, September 5, 2017
- Jessica Taylor, "Bipartisan 'Bromance' Blossoms as 2 Texas
   Congressmen Make D.C. Road Trip," NPR, March 15, 2017
- Jason Grumet, "Commit to a Summer of Civility," Medium, Bipartisan Policy Center, July 3, 2017
  - "Commitment to Civility," U.S. House of Representatives, January 2017
- Rep. Charlie Crist and Rep. Mike Johnson, "Promoting Civility and Practicing the Golden Rule Every Day," The Hill, July 12, 2017

10:30 a.m. -- 10:45 a.m.

Morning Break

River House Break Room

12:00 p.m.

1

Check-out, Program concludes after Seminar Session III

\*If possible, please check-out prior to Seminar Session III, or during break

12:00 p.m. - 1:00 p.m.

Lunch (boxed lunches available)

River House Dining Room

1:00 p.m.

Departure



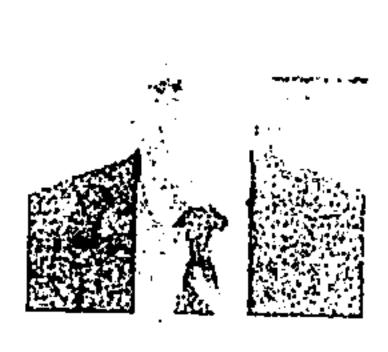
# Political Civility and the Role of Congress (Moderated by Dan Glickman and Bill Hoagland)

October 27-29, 2017 Wye Conference Center Queenstown, Maryland

Today more than ever, we live in a bifurcated environment, and the nature of our discourse is critical for the country's future. Political civility and discourse has been a subject of interest throughout history from the classics to contemporary society. How has civil discourse shaped American history, and vice versa? Are we truly living in a more divisive and hostile political environment, or have these elements always been a part of our political society? With the rise of social media and digital platforms, what is the impact on political discourse and civility? How has it changed or influenced communication between elected officials? Between country leadership and the people? This seminar explores the role of government, government officials, and institutions in the political discourse of the nation.

#### Moderators:

#### Dan Glickman



Dan Glickman is the Executive Director of the Aspen Institute Congressional Program, a nongovernmental, nonpartisan educational program for members of the United States Congress. The program provides lawmakers with a stronger grasp of critical public policy issues by convening high-level conferences and breakfast meetings in which legislators are brought together with internationally-recognized academics, experts and leaders to study the issues and explore various policy alternatives.

He served as the U.S. Secretary of Agriculture from March 1995 until January 2001. Under his leadership, the Department administered farm and conservation programs; modernized food safety regulations; forged international trade agreements to expand U.S. markets; and improved its commitment fairness to and equality in civil rights. Before his appointment as Secretary of Agriculture, Glickman served for 18 years in the U.S. House of Representatives representing the 4th Congressional District of Kansas. During that time, he was a member of the House Agriculture Committee, including six years as chairman of the subcommittee with jurisdiction over federal farm policy issues. Moreover, he was an active member of the House Judiciary Committee; chairman of the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence; and was a leading congressional expert on general aviation policy.

Glickman is also a Senior Fellow at the Bipartisan Policy Center in Washington, D.C. The BPC was formed in 2007 by former Senate Majority Leaders Howard Baker, Tom Daschle, Bob Dole

and George Mitchell to develop and promote bipartisan solutions to the country's problems and to promote civility in government.

Glickman served as Chairman of the Motion Picture Association of America, Inc. (MPAA) from 2004 until 2010.

Prior to joining the MPAA, he was the Director of the Institute of Politics at Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government (2002-2004).

Before his election to Congress in 1976, Glickman served as president of the Wichita School Board; was a partner in the law firm of Sargent, Klenda and Glickman; and worked as a trial attorney at the U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission. He received his Bachelor of Arts in history from the University of Michigan and his J.D. from The George Washington University. He is a member of the Kansas and District of Columbia Bars.

Glickman is also on the board of directors of the Chicago Mercantile Exchange; Communities in Schools; Food Research and Action Center, a domestic anti-hunger organization; National 4-H Council; and the Center for U.S. Global Engagement, where he is Chair of the U.S. Global Leadership Coalition. He co-chairs an initiative of eight foundations, administered by the Meridian Institute, to look at long-term implications of food and agricultural policy. He chairs an initiative at the Institute of Medicine on accelerating progress on childhood obesity. He is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences and a senior fellow of the Center on Communication Leadership and Policy at the USC Annenberg School for Communication & Journalism, the Council on American Politics at The Graduate School of Political Management at The George Washington University, and is Vice-Chair of the World Food Program-USA. He is the co-chair of the Chicago Council on Global Affairs' global agricultural development initiative. He is the author of "Farm Futures," in Foreign Affairs (May/June 2009).

#### Bill Hoagland



G. William Hoagland is a BPC senior vice president. In this capacity, he helps direct and manage fiscal, health, and economic policy analyses.

Before joining BPC in September 2012, Hoagland served as vice president of public policy for CIGNA Corporation, working with business leaders, trade associations, business coalitions, and interest groups to develop CIGNA policy on health care reform issues at both the federal and state levels.

Prior to joining CIGNA, Hoagland completed 33 years of federal government service, including 25 years on the U.S. Senate staff. From 2003 to 2007, he served as the director of budget and appropriations in the office of Senate Majority Leader Bill Frist. He assisted in evaluating the fiscal impact of major legislation and helped to coordinate budget policy for the Senate leadership.

From 1982 to 2003. Hoagland served as a staff member and director of the Senate Budget Committee, reporting to U.S. Sen. Pete V. Domenici, chairman and ranking member of the

committee during this period. He participated in major federal budget negotiations, including the 1985 Gramm-Rudman-Hollings Budget Deficit Reduction Act, the 1990 Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act, and the historic 1997 Balanced Budget Agreement.

In 1981, he served as the administrator of the Department of Agriculture's Food and Nutrition Service and as a special assistant to the Secretary of Agriculture. He was one of the first employees of the Congressional Budget Office in 1975, working with its first director, Alice Rivlin.

In both 1997 and 2005, National Journal listed him as one of the "Washington 100 Decision Makers" and referred to him as a "bottom-liner who is not a hard-liner." Roll Call consistently named Hoagland as one of the top 50 Hill staffers. In 2002, he received the James L. Blum Award for Distinguished Service in Budgeting. The National Association of State Budget Officers honored him in 2004 with its Leadership in Budgeting Award, and in 2006 he was inducted as a fellow in the National Academy of Public Administration.

Hoagland is an affiliate professor of public policy at the George Mason University and a board member of the Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget, the National Academy of Social Insurance, and the National Advisory Committee to the Workplace Flexibility 2010 Commission. In 2009, he was appointed to the Peterson-Pew Commission on Budget Reform examining the overall structure of the budget, authorization, and appropriations process, and was a member of BPC's Debt Reduction Task Force that published Restoring America's Future in November 2010. He coordinated BPC's 2013 report, A Bipartisan Rx for Patient-Centered Care and System-Wide Cost Containment. In April 2015, he co-chaired the National Academy of Social Insurance report, "Addressing Pricing Power in Health Care Markets."

Hoagland attended the U.S. Merchant Marine Academy and holds degrees from Purdue University and The Pennsylvania State University. His family's Indiana family farm was recognized as a "Hoosier Homestead" for having remained in the family for over a century.



Cordell Carter, II

Executive Director

Socrates Pre

Ms. Elizabeth Falcone Legislative Director, Office of Senator Mark Warner U.S. Senate

Washington, DC 20515

Dear Ms. Falcone:

I would like to invite you to participate in a seminar designed exclusively for the education benefit of a bipartisan, bicameral group of senior congressional staff focusing on Political Civility and the Role of Congress to be held at the Aspen Institute Campus located in Wye River, Maryland, October 27-29, 2017.

We have assembled two outstanding moderators to lead the discussions; The Honorable Dan Glickman, Executive Director of the Aspen Institute Congressional Program, and Bill Hoagland, Senior Vice President of the Bipartisan Policy Center.

This seminar is primarily designed for senior congressional staffers, by invitation only. Nonetheless, in the interest of creating the best possible mix of views and perspectives we do accept a limited number of vetted non-congressional scholars, but no outside observers, press, or lobbyist will participate. We will provide you with a signed Private Sponsor Travel Certification Form, and other required documentation, for filing with the House/Senate Ethics Committee. Our purpose is education, not advocacy.

Participants should arrive in Wye by 5:00 p.m. on Friday, October 27<sup>th</sup> and the program will end at 2:00 p.m. Sunday October 29<sup>th</sup>. Should you accept the invitation, it is required that you participate through the duration of the seminar. Your lodging and meals will be paid by the Aspen Institute Socrates Program. Under the ethics rules, no expenses are cover for entertainment or recreation.

Enclosed is a one pager on the Socrates Program. We hope you will be able to participate in the extended educational offering of this series. If you have any questions, please feel free to call Katie Bauman at 202-721-5589. I hope you will be able to join us for this exciting seminar.

Sincerely,

Cordell Carter, II

One Dupont Circle, NW

Sunc 700

Washin in DC 20036-1133

PH 202-736,5589

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BRIAN SCHATZ, HAWAII
JEANNE SHAHEEN, NEW HAMPSHIRE

DEBORAH SUE MAYER, CHIEF COUNSEL AND STAFF DIRECTOF EMILY GERSHON, CHIEF CLERK TELEPHONE: (202) 224-2981 FACSIMILE: (202) 224-7416 TDD: (202) 228-3752

# United States Senate

SELECT COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

October 18, 2017

Elizabeth Falcone Office of Senator Mark R. Warner United States Senate Washington, DC 20510

Dear Ms. Falcone:

This responds to your recent correspondence concerning an invitation you received to travel to the Socrates Program's Political Civility and the Role of Congress seminar in Queenstown, Maryland on October 27-29, 2017, sponsored by the Aspen Institute. The Aspen Institute certified to the Select Committee on Ethics (the Committee) that it will pay the necessary expenses¹ related to the travel and that it is neither a lobbyist, nor lobbying firm, nor an agent of a foreign principal, and it is not otherwise acting as a representative or agent of a foreign government. The Aspen Institute has also certified that it does not retain or employ a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal and that no registered lobbyist will accompany you at any point throughout your trip.²

Based on information and materials available to the Committee, and assuming the actual travel and travel-related expenses conform to the information and materials you provided, it appears that the proposed payment or reimbursement of necessary expenses for this trip may be accepted under relevant Senate Rules and the Committee's Regulations and Guidelines for Privately-Sponsored Travel, so long as at the time of the payment or reimbursement, the Aspen Institute is neither a registered lobbyist nor lobbying firm under the Lobbying Disclosure Act of 1995, nor an agent of a foreign principal under the Foreign Agents Registration Act (and is not otherwise acting as a representative or agent of a foreign government), and provided the travel and all required documents are disclosed to the Secretary of the Senate in accordance with the provisions of Senate Rules 34 and 35.

Under Senate Rule 35, Senate staff must receive advance authorization signed by the Member or officer under whose direct supervision the individual works in order to accept payment or reimbursement for necessary expenses related to fact-finding travel. Further, such authorization and expenses must be disclosed to the Secretary of the Senate by filing the completed *Employee Pre-Travel Authorization* and the *Employee Post-Travel Disclosure of* 

The term "necessary expenses" has a specific definition. See Select Committee on Ethics' Regulations and Guidelines for Privately-Sponsored Travel – Glossary of Terms at 8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The term "any point throughout your trip" has a specific definition. See id. at 2.

Travel Expenses (Form RE-1 and Form RE-2), along with a copy of the Private Sponsor Travel Certification Form, and all relevant attachments (e.g., the private sponsor's invitation and itinerary) within 30 days of the conclusion of Privately-Sponsored Travel.

Finally, Senate Rule 34 requires a reporting individual,<sup>3</sup> on his or her Financial Disclosure Report, to make an annual disclosure of the receipt of payments or reimbursements under Senate Rule 35 from a private sponsor for officially-related travel expenses where, in the aggregate, travel expenses exceed \$390 from that sponsor during a calendar year. However, if a Member, officer, or employee properly reports the receipt of necessary expenses for such travel to the Secretary of the Senate within 30 days of the travel, as discussed above, the travel expenses need not be disclosed a second time on their Financial Disclosure Report.

I hope you find this information helpful. If you have any additional questions, please do not hesitate to contact the Committee.

Sincerely,

Deborah Sue Mayer

Chief Counsel and Staff Director

Enclosure: Travel Checklist

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> A reporting individual is someone whose salary equals or exceeds 120% of the basic rate of pay for GS-15 (\$124,406 for CY 2017) or is a political fund designee and is required to file Financial Disclosure Reports.

# PRIVATE SPONSOR TRAVEL CERTIFICATION FORM

This form must be completed by any private entity offering to provide travel or reimbursement for travel to Senate Members, officers, or employees (Senate Rule 35, clause 2). Each sponsor of a fact-finding trip must sign the completed form. The trip sponsor(s) must provide a copy of the completed form to each invited Senate traveler, who will then forward it to the Ethics Committee with any other required materials. The trip sponsor(s) should **NOT** submit the form directly to the Ethics Committee. Please consult the accompanying instructions for more detailed definitions and other key information.

The Senate Member, officer, or employee MUST also provide a copy of this form, along with the appropriate travel authorization and reimbursement form, to the Office of Public Records (OPR), Room 232 of the Hart Building, within thirty (30) days after the travel is completed.

The Aspen Institute (Socrates Program)  Sponsor(s) of the trip (please list all sponsors):
Description of the trip: The Aspen Institute (Socrates Program) is sponsoring a Socrates seminar for
senior congressional staff to discuss political civility and the role of Congress.
Dates of travel: October 27-29, 2017
Place of travel: Queenstown, MD
Name and title of Senate invitees: Please see attached roster
I certify that the trip fits one of the following categories:
(A) The sponsor(s) are not registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal and do not retain or employ registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal and no lobbyist or agents of a foreign principal will accompany the Member, officer, or employee at any point throughout the trip.  - OR -
(B) The sponsor or sponsors are not registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal, but retain or employ one or more registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal and the trip meets the requirements of Senate Rule 35.2(a)(2)(A)(i) or (ii) (see question 9).
I certify that the trip will not be financed in any part by a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal.  - AND -
I certify that the sponsor or sponsors will not accept funds or in-kind contributions earmarked directly or indirectly for the purpose of financing this specific trip from a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal or from a private entity that retains or employs one or more registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal.
l <i>certify</i> that:
The trip will not in any part be planned, organized, requested, or arranged by a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal except for de minimis lobbyist involvement.  - AND -
The traveler will not be accompanied on the trip by a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal except as provided for by Committee regulations relating to lobbyist accompaniment (see question 9).

9.	USE ONLY IF YOU CHECKED QUESTION 6(B)  I certify that if the sponsor or sponsors retain or employ one or more registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal, one of the following scenarios applies:
	(A) The trip is for attendance or participation in a one-day event (exclusive of travel time and one overnight stay) and no registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal will accompany the Member, officer, or employee on any segment of the trip.  OR —
	<ul> <li>(B) The trip is for attendance or participation in a one-day event (exclusive of travel time and two overnight stays) and no registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal will accompany the Member, officer, or employee on any segment of the trip (see questions 6 and 10).</li> <li>- OR -</li> </ul>
	(C) The trip is being sponsored only by an organization or organizations designated under § 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 and no registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal will accompany the Member, officer, or employee at any point throughout the trip.
10.	USE ONLY IF YOU CHECKED QUESTION 9(B)  If the trip includes two overnight stays, please explain why the second night is practically required for Senate invitees to participate in the travel:
11.	An itinerary for the trip is attached to this form. I certify that the attached itinerary is a detailed (hourby-hour), complete, and final itinerary for the trip.
12.	Briefly describe the role of each sponsor in organizing and conducting the trip:
	The Aspen Institute's Socrates Program is the sole sponsor of this seminar and is solely responsible
	for the development and execution of this convening. (see continued response)
13.	Briefly describe the stated mission of each sponsor and how the purpose of the trip relates to that mission:  The Aspen Institute is an educational and policy studies non-partisan non-profit organization whose
	mission is to foster leadership based on enduring values and provide a non-partisan forum for the
	exchange of ideas. (see continued response)
14.	Briefly describe each sponsor's prior history of sponsoring congressional trips:
	The Aspen Institute has a nearly forty year history of conducting non-partisan educational forums, which
	often include Members of Congress and Congressional staff. The Socrates Program has been conducting
	seminars Senate Socrates for eight years.

The Aspen Institute holds numerous educational activities, including educational briefings, roundtables,					
forums, and confere	nces for a diverse range	of attendees including	federal and state	policymakers,	
business and organi	zation leaders, members	of the press and the	general public. (s	ee continued respo	
Total Expenses for E	ach Participant:			•	
	Transportation Expenses	Lodging Expenses	Meal Expenses	Other Expenses	
Good Faith estimate  Actual  Amounts	\$63.45 for mileage	\$234.00 for two nights	\$172.50	\$183.44 conference roometing facilities set up/take down cleaning), reading copyrighting and moderator	
State whether a) the	trip involves an event the trip involves an event ipation:	at is arranged or organ that is arranged or org	nized without rega ganized specificali	ard to congressiona	
State whether a) the participation or b) the congressional partice.  B. The trip is organized	ne trip involves an event	that is arranged or org	ganized <i>specificali</i>	ard to congressionally with regard to	
State whether a) the participation or b) the congressional participation.  B. The trip is organize their leadership and	ne trip involves an event ipation: zed specifically with rega	that is arranged or organized to Congressional sont	ganized <i>specificali</i>	ard to congressionally with regard to	
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State whether a) the participation or b) the congressional partice.  B. The trip is organize their leadership and Reason for selecting.  The location is close the congressional partice.	ne trip involves an event ipation:  zed specifically with regard professional developme  the location of the event to Washingtonn, DC for	that is arranged or organized to Congressional sont  t or trip r easy staffer and mode	taff participation in	ard to congressionally with regard to	
State whether a) the participation or b) the congressional participation.  B. The trip is organize their leadership and Reason for selecting. The location is close the location is close.  Name and location of the Wye River Conference.	ne trip involves an event ipation:  zed specifically with regardance professional developme  the location of the event to Washingtonn, DC for the following the location of the event to Washingtonn, DC for the event to Washingtonn,	that is arranged or organd to Congressional sont  t or trip reasy staffer and moderate facility:  Orive, Queenstown, Miles	taff participation in	ard to congressionally with regard to	

Center property.

21.	Describe how the daily expenses for lodging, meals, and other expenses provided to trip participants compares to the maximum per diem rates for official Federal Government travel:				
	Rooms are \$117/day, which reflects the per diem limit.				
	Meals are \$69.00/day, which reflects the per diem limit.				
22.	Describe the type and class of transportation being provided. Indicate whether coach, business-class or first class transportation will be provided. If first-class fare is being provided, please explain why first-class				
	travel is necessary:  Transportation is not provided; mileage will be reimbursed for participants' travel by personal car				
23.	I represent that the travel expenses that will be paid for or reimbursed to Senate invitees do not include expenditures for recreational activities, alcohol, or entertainment (other than entertainment provided to all attendees as an integral part of the event, as permissible under Senate Rule 35).  List any entertainment that will be provided to, paid for, or reimbursed to Senate invitees and explain why				
	the entertainment is an integral part of the event:  None				
25.	I hereby certify that the information contained herein is true, complete and correct. (You must include the completed signature block below for each travel sponsor.):  Signature of Travel Sponsor:				
	Name and Title: Elliot Gerson, Excuitve Vice President, Policy & Public Programs				
	Name of Organization:				
	Address: 1 Dupont Circle NW, Suite 700, Washington, DC 20036				
	Telephone Number: 202-736-5859				
	Fax Number: 202-467-0790				
	E-mail Address:lisa.jones@aspeninstitute.org				

Appendix to Private Sponsor Travel Certification Form, Aspen Institute Socrates Program for Senate Socrates, October 27-29, 2017

Question 12. Briefly describe the role of each sponsor in organizing and conducting the trip (response continued) – The Aspen Institute received general funding from the Rodel Foundations to support the Socrates Program. The funding was not earmarked for this trip. The Rodel Foundations did not play a role in organizing or planning the conference, including, but not limited to the content, agenda, moderators, attendees or other logistics.

Questions 13. Briefly describe the stated mission of each sponsor and how the purpose of the trip relates to the mission (response continued) – The Socrates Program seeks to provide a forum for emerging leaders from various professions to convene and explore contemporary issues through expert-moderated dialogue. The purpose of the trip is to conduct a non-partisan educational seminar on political civility and the role of Congress that encourages off-the-record, candid exchanges of ideas to support staffers' learning and development.

Question 15. Briefly describe the educational activities performed by each sponsor (other than sponsoring congressional trips) (response continued) – The Socrates Program convenes 18 expertly moderate seminars every year bringing together a diverse group of professionals to explore issues, discuss current topics and encourage dialogue and exchanges of ideas.



#### #5. Name and titles of Senate invitees:

#### **Christian Brose**

**Staff Director** 

Committee on Armed Services

#### Mike Casey

Minority Staff Director

Select Committee on Intelligence

#### Jeyben Castro

**Outreach Director** 

Republican Task Force on Hispanic Affairs

#### Jennifer Decasper

**Chief of Staff** 

Office of Senator Tim Scott

#### Elizabeth Falcone

Legislative Director

Office of Senator Mark Warner

#### Laura Erickson Hatalsky

Legislative Director

Office of Senator Catherine Cortez Masto

#### Thomas Mancinelli

Foreign Policy Advisor

Office of Senator Chris Coons

#### Olivia Perez-Cubas

Press Secretary

Office of Senator Marco Rubio

#### Monica Popp

Chief of Staff

Office of Senate Republican Whip John Cornyn

#### **Nicole Porreca**

Senior Foreign Policy Advisor

Office of Senator Tim Kaine

#### Hallie Soifer

Legislative Assistant

Office of Senator Kamala Harris

#### **Dana Stroul**

Professional Staff Member

Committee on Foreign Relations

#### **Bill Sweeney**

**Staff Director** 

Democratic Policy and Communications

Committee

#### Natalia Riggin

Legislative Assistant

Office of Senator Mike Enzi

#### **Erica Suares**

**Policy Advisor** 

Office of Majority Leader, Senator Mitch

McConnell

#### **Matthew Williams**

Legislative Assistant

Office of Senator Bill Nelson

#### **Brandon Yoder**

Senior Professional Staff Member Committee on Foreign Relations



#### 2017 Senate Socrates

Political Civility and the Role of Congress Moderators: Dan Glickman and Bill Hoagland

#### Seminar Weekend Schedule

October 27-29, 2017 Aspen Institute Wye River Campus 600 Aspen Drive

Queenstown, Maryland

Seminar Location: River House (RH)

# Friday, October 27

7:00 p.m. - 8:00 p.m. Senate Socrates Check In & Registration

River House

8:00 p.m. – 9:30 p.m. Senate Socrates Opening Dinner

"Political Civility and Working in Washington"

A conversation with Dan Glickman, Aspen Institute

Congressional Program Executive Director, and Bill Hoagland,

Bipartisan Policy Center Senior Vice President

Moderated by Elliot Gerson, Aspen Institute Executive Vice

President

River House Dining Room

# Saturday, October 28

7:45 a.m. – 9:00 a.m. Breakfast

River House Dining Room

9:00 a.m. – 12:00 p.m. Seminar Session I: Foundations in Discourse, Teamwork and

Civility

Seminar discussion based on the following texts:

"Classical Rhetoric, Contemporary Science and Modern Civil Discourse," Research Brief No. 4, National Institute for Civil

Discourse

Dave Winsborough and Tomas Chamorro-Premuzic, "Great Teams are About Personalities, Not Just Skills," Harvard Business

Review, January 25, 2017

Alex Pentland, "The New Science of Building Great Teams,"
 Harvard Business Review, April 2012
 Hua Hsu, "The Civility Wars," The New Yorker, 2014
 P.M. Forni, "What is Civility?" Choosing Civility, 2003, pp. 7-12
 Tod Lindberg, "The Politics of Incivility," Commentary Magazine,
 September 1, 2012

10:30 a.m. - 10:45 a.m.

Morning Break
River House Break Room

12:00 p.m. – 1:00 p.m.

Lunch River House Dining Room

1:00 p.m. – 4:00 p.m.

Seminar Session II: A Brief History of American "Civil" Discourse Seminar discussion based on the following texts:

- Derek A. Webb, "The Original Meaning of Civility:
   Democratic Deliberation at the Philadelphia Constitutional
   Convention," Introduction & Conclusion, South Carolina Law
   Review, Vol. 64, 2012, pp. 184-191 & 218-219
- James Madison, "Federalist No. 10: The Union as a Safeguard Against Domestic Faction and Insurrection," New York Packet, 1787
  - Benjamin Franklin, "Final Speech in the Constitutional Convention from the Notes of James Madison," 1787 Ron Chernow, "The Feuding Fathers," *The Wall Street Journal*, June 26, 2010
- David M. Abshire, The Grace and Power of Civility: Commitment and Tolerance in the American Experience, Center for the Study of the Presidency, November 2004, pp. 1-5
- "Representative Roger Griswold of Connecticut Attacked Matthew Lyon of Vermont on the House Floor," Historical Highlights, U.S. House of Representatives History, Art & Archives
- "The Caning of Senator Charles Sumner," Senate Stories, U.S.
   Senate Art & History
- Martin Luther King, "Letter from Birmingham Jail," 1963
- Richard Hofstadter, "The Paranoid Style in American Politics," Harper's Magazine, November 1964
- Sarah Heil, "Mark Twain on Congress: Idiots, Criminals, Dumber than Fleas," *The Washington Post*, April 18, 2012
- Joanna Piacenza, "Report: Is Civility Possible?," Public Religion Research Institute, October 22, 2014

 Michael Gerson, "America is Hacking Away at Its Own Democratic Limb," The Washington Post, June 29, 2017
 Jack Leslie, "What Three Nobel Laureates Can Teach Us About Civility in America," The Huffington Post, August 7, 2017

2:30 p.m. – 2:45 p.m.

Afternoon Break

River House Break Room

4:30 p.m. - 6:30 p.m.

Historical Walking Tour of Wye

Wye Campus

7:30 p.m. - 9:30 p.m.

Dinner and Evening Program

"The Future of Politics: Well-Informed, Biparitisan Commitment to

Build the 'Good Society'"

A conversation with Bill Budinger, founder of Rodel, Inc., and

Mickey Edwards, former U.S. Congressman

Moderated by Cordell Carter, Socrates Program Director

River House Dining Room

## Sunday, October 29

7:45 a.m. – 9:00 a.m.

Breakfast

River House Dining Room

9:00 a.m. - 12:00 p.m.

Seminar Session III: Political Civility in the Age of Social Media Seminar discussion based on the following texts:

- Amy Gutmann, "Key Note Address Can We Talk? A Conversation about Civility and Democracy in America," University of Pennsylvania Office of the President, March 26, 2011
- Alan Greenblatt, "The Public Respects Civility, But Rewards Rudeness," NPR, January 26, 2012
- Jonathan Rauch, "Rescuing Compromise," National Affairs, 2013
- Laura Santhanam, "New Poll: 70% of Americans Think Civility has Gotten Worse Since Trump Took Office," PBS NewsHour, July 3, 2017
- Maeve Duggan, "How Platforms Are Poisoning Conversations," The Atlantic, May 11, 2017
- Lee Drutman, "We Need Political Parties. But Their Rabid Partisanship Could Destroy American Democracy.," Vox, September 5, 2017
- Jessica Taylor, "Bipartisan 'Bromance' Blossoms as 2 Texas Congressmen Make D.C. Road Trip," NPR, March 15, 2017

- Jason Grumet, "Commit to a Summer of Civility," Medium, Bipartisan Policy Center, July 3, 2017
   "Commitment to Civility," U.S. House of Representatives, January 2017
- Rep. Charlie Crist and Rep. Mike Johnson, "Promoting Civility and Practicing the Golden Rule Every Day," The Hill, July 12, 2017

10:30 a.m. – 10:45 a.m.	Morning Break River House Break Room
12:00 p.m.	Check-out, Program concludes after Seminar Session III *If possible, please check-out prior to Seminar Session III, or during break
12:00 p.m. – 1:00 p.m.	Lunch (boxed lunches available) River House Dining Room

1:00 p.m. Departure